uncle, is all that can be directly observed. This relationship is expressed by a special kind of trading. The uncle (in this case the brother of the mother) has the right to appropriate a damaged or mutilated object from the nephew. At the next opportunity the nephew compensates by taking a corresponding perfect object. Thus once a young Hottentot took home a milch cow with calf and ten goats as recompense for his mother's brother taking a horse with bad hoofs years ago. "Buskop" cattle (hornless or with loose horns), goats with stubby ears, cattle with asymmetrical horns, a skin blanket with holes, a cracked wooden pail, a stone pipe with a broken edge, etc., etc. may be appropriated by the uncle. Sometimes he looks through the entire hut of the nephew to find something like that. If his visit is a surprise, he can make a lot of good finds. Otherwise the young wife has hidden all the doubtful objects of her household in time. The nephew's right of choosing is called //nu/ri//gab, that of the uncle °ũ//gab. In none of the cases known to me did I hear any complaints of misuse of these rights. This relationship is generally based on such mutual trust that it would not be egotistically exploited. 604

The preferential position of the brother of the wife in the family is reminiscent of the old Indo-European views (84). [171]

84. B. Delbrück, Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen, (Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd. LXXIX, 1896).

### 3. Name Giving

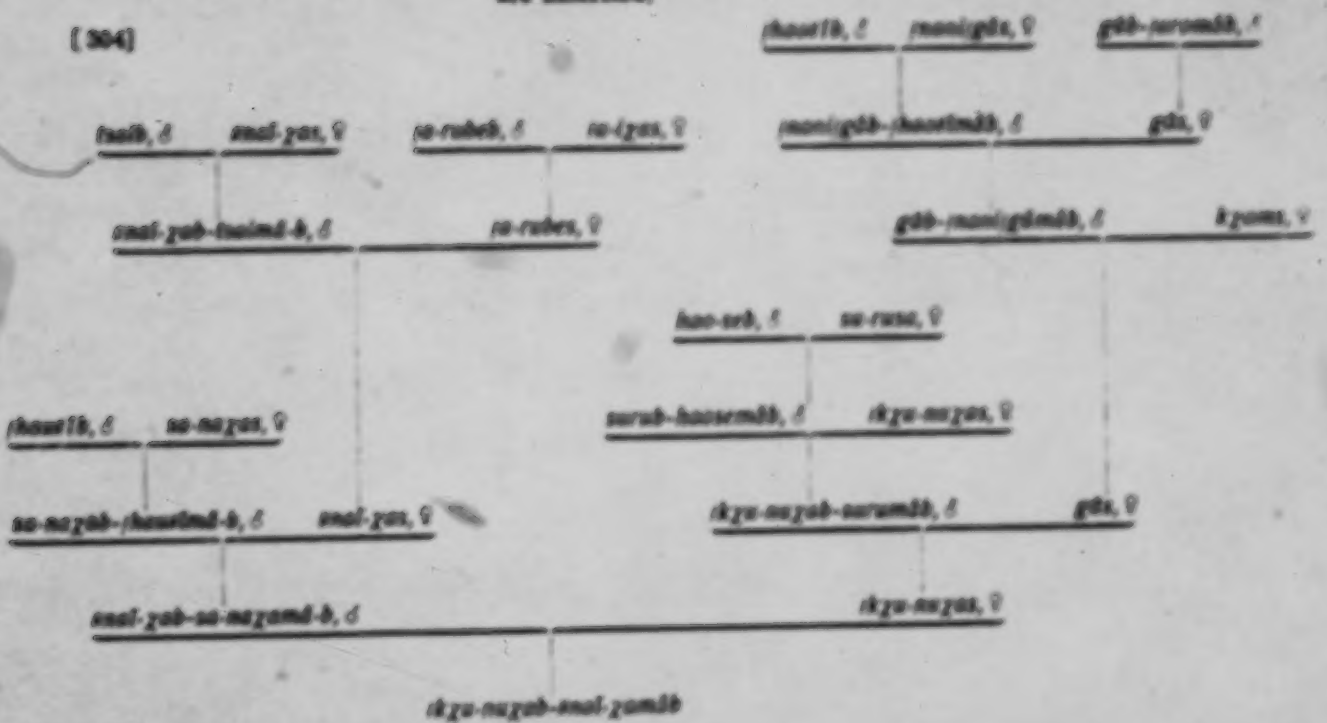
We have two chief groups of family names, /o-/nti, which we must differentiate if we are not to be confused by the diversity that rules here. 551 553

a) The first group might be called that of the parent names. We must first state that each Hottentot family name can be used, depending [ 304, Chart. Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited. ] [ 305] on whether the masculine (-b or -ba) or feminine (-s or -sa) personal suffix is added, as the name for a boy or a girl.

The general rule is that the son inherits the name of the mother and the daughter that of the father as the main name. If, for example the father is called gomarib and the mother //kqunibes, the son is called

## Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.

[304]



//hûnîseb and the daughter gomaxis.

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The son adds a secondary name to this main name when he is grown up. The main name of the father with the insertion of the syllable -oa before the final personal suffix serves as the son's secondary name. The son of the afore-mentioned parents is thus called //hûnîseb-gomaxoasen. (There seems to be less use made of such double names by the female sex. The daughter of the parents mentioned above would have as a full name gomaxis-//hûnîsenâs.)

In order to convince myself that this method of name-giving is pursued consistently for several generations, I have traced back the names of a family as far as the memory of my authorities reached. I was assisted by the village elder of the Topnaar settlement in Rooibank behind Walvis Bay. The result proved the consistency of this rule of name-giving.

In everyday life there are consequences arising from the way names are inherited that could easily lead to confusion, except that, as we will see, a second group of names provides a remedy. The rule by which children receive their parents' names results first of all in full brothers having the same name and all full sisters having the same name. A simple consideration, using as an example, the last generation of the second family tree, results in the following: the same main name, /hûp-nuŋab, which the brothers have, will also be the name of all their cousins that are the sons of a maternal aunt, in other words all sons of /hûp-nuŋas' sisters. Different from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins who derive from the father's and mother's brothers. The cousins that stem from the father's sisters are all called sa-nuŋab.

Analogous are the relationships among the sisters of the brothers /hûp-nuŋab: the chief name, which they have, //nî-ǂas, is also the name of all their cousins that are the daughters of a paternal uncle, in other words, daughters of the father's brothers. The daughters of the father's sisters would all be called sa-nǂas. The maternal cousins, that are the daughters of an uncle (of a brother of the /hûp-nuŋas), would [306] all be called gâs. Differing from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins that stem from the mother's sisters.

Although the parental names reveal the origin of the bearer to another Hottentot sufficiently so that they suffice for identification in a foreign kraal, they still do not provide enough differentiation within the

narrow bounds of the family. The names of a second group fill this gap. We will call them,

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ii) Nicknames.

In the simplest instance, these names are a simple characterization of the person based on an identifying mark or a fact. Thus a young Namaqua girl with thin hair on her head was called ǂgâ'i, i.e. baldy, bare-headed. A young boy was called °/gu-ra//a-reb, because he was left-handed. A man who stood cold well was known by the name °ǁkhai-ts'ûmab, as "one who is not (ts'ûma) cold (ǁkhai)." Another, notorious for being unpunctual, was called °ǃaû-i //khai-b, "he who makes you wait (ǃaû-i) in vain (//khai-, to miss)." A feared cattle thief in lower Swakop territory was named for the color of his hair °/hai‖ǂb, the "dun horse." A peaceful old man who had planted near the water a tobacco bed that was always green (ǃaon) was called ǃa-ontab etc.

Certain events are the basis of two other names: °hâ-i gueb, i.e. "he who came," because this man came to this place from far away and now lives here. A boy, whose mother died shortly after he was born, received and kept the name, by which a Namaqua designates a new-born being, whether man, lamb, or calf, that is raised on the milk of a strange woman or different mother animal: °hâ-ab.

Such names can attach themselves so firmly that they become the first name of a person for all his life. It is not unlikely that such nicknames were formerly the original and only names of the Namaquas and that even today they still become main names that can be inherited and thus bring new elements into the vocabulary of personal names.

Sometimes only those closest to a person can understand the personal connection in the name of the person. Thus I have not been able to find out the references of the various nicknames of Hendrik Witbooi which I heard many times: ǃhu-ineb, °/gâ-nab and °ǂkaiu-ǂb.

Some of the nicknames are terms of endearment which are only used for a certain time and then forgotten or only used occasionally. [Pictures, Plate XIII, Topnaar Boys]. [307] Thus a Namaqua woman called her little son °ǂkxa-ri!kun-kib, i.e. "the little viel." She wished to indicate that the sight of her child made her as happy as an expanse of water does in the dry desert. Another mother had a naive pleasure in the pretty ("clean") privates of her little daughter and therefore named it ǃa-nuǂnî-s. A Namaqua child, that had Negro blood from its father's side and thus had a darker skin color, was usually called °khu-/nagyeans-s by its mother, i.e. "you who are so sweetly black."

Occasionally the white man gets a nickname. Thus a Hottentot once remarked of a worthy missionary, remembering gratefully a good deed performed for him by this man with black mutton-chop whiskers, calling him *ǂkoi/ǂgaiǂoatse, "oh, thou son of a black-cheeked sheep." This was an image that is close to the shepherd and would always be considered a compliment by a Hottentot. (See illustration, p. 263). 551 553

The Hottentot's marked sense for satire expresses itself freely and happily in naming names for his own people and for his white masters: 551 552

*//kun-naib was the name of a boy with a stomach that stuck out (from *//kun, to forego evacuating the bowels); *//go-neǂnõa-tan/a-b a boy with an awkward posture, "whose neck vertebra was in his buttocks"; *ǂhaiǂgaiǂa, i.e. the "mountain cheeks," was the name of a Negro with fat cheeks; *ǂkaiǂe-b, i.e. "bag of bones," a thin fellow; *//gaunab was the name of a dirty fellow "who tastes horrible," etc.

Boys in their adolescence with their mixture of childish and adult characteristics also evoke the mockery of a Hottentot. One such youth in his late adolescence was called *a-ru//gui-b. The word aru- means driving the young lambs away from the old animals that go to pasture, while the young ones stay by the hut. The word alludes to the childish features of the boy. //gu-i means in the language of the herdsman: a bull calf that actually should be castrated but that still has its testicles; the word alludes to the awakening manhood of the boy.

Indicative of the decline in polygamy is the fact that a man who still enjoyed this luxury was known by the name *a-mi‖komaǂgu-ita-naeb, i.e. as one "who has many (ǂgui) wives (tara-s) just as an ostrich (ami-s) has hens." [308]

The Hottentot find weak points in the bodies of the white men even more easily than in his own. A person who he thinks has too long a neck is called the "necky one," *ǂao-ǂkab; another person's [308] mustache hangs over his mouth (ams) as a dog's lips (*//gaǂnu-b) over its snout and so he is called *//gabu-ǂaa-mi.

Another is named for the peculiar expression of his eyes for a gecko lizard of the same name, a Sachydactylus species, *ǂna-nigyemãǂs, another one, because of his stamping gait *ǂnõ-ǂarib, the "heel man." The Hottentots in Kubub called an especially tall man ǂa-batomaǂa-to-b, i.e. "he who does not have to climb (ǂa-ba) on the wagon to load it" (ǂnaǂa).

They called another ǂa-oa/ã-batana-s (with a feminine ending) because he lets his head (tana-s) hang loosely to one side and dangle with

every step, and carries it as though his neck (!aos) were "wet" (/ǂ i.e. like a soft, flexible juicy flower stalk). His opposite, a man whose pride expressed itself in a perpetual stretching of his backbone, was called "the hollow one" °!oǂ/b by the men; by the women: °/ǂ-uiǂ-b, because his penis (ǂâb) was new (/ǂas) i.e. very potent. 551 522

That the bow-legged person (°//kuî-aasb), the person with a pot belly (°//ǂ-enab), the person with red hair (°/a-batsa-b), acquire an epithet before an hour has gone by is obvious.

Other teasing names refer to events. A high official who sometimes got off his horse during a trip to pick up a mouse or a beetle was called the "junk collector," °ua-koreb, from the first day of the journey. Another was named °!u-/rila-ogorab, "the white-throated raven," after he was seen in a stiff white collar and a black coat for a reception, although he was usually dressed shabbily.

Finally a soldier who spent a whole day stubbornly wooing for the favor of a Bastard girl who refused him was generally called °ǂnî-xoreǂnâ-/b by the Hottentots at his station, "he who sits (ǂnî) there even when the sun (xo-rei) goes down" (ǂnâ/).

## 4. Children's Games

I have been able to observe children's games frequently. 859

a) When they are an imitation of the activities of the adults, they reflect the double nature of the Hottentot as a herdsman and a hunter. The boys sometimes catch mice alive (a simple task when they have found a nest), shut them up in little mud kraals as milk cattle and castrate the males except for one which they keep as the bull of the little herd. 524

[309] When hunting with little home-made bows with feathered Ruspoetia stalks as arrows or with stones as their only weapons, they call the lizards their springbok, the elephant shrew are elephants, (see p. 287, no. 40) a rat-like rodent the lion and the striped mouse the zebra. The wild animals are properly skinned and cut up. Whoever has killed a bird, plucks it and makes a good trade as is done with ostrich feathers. 857 526

The Boers' ox wagon is also so popular in Namaland that the children have taken it over into their games. Large wingless grasshoppers are acceptable draught animals. They yoke the strong insects that are half the length of a finger to a little hand-made ox wagon. They attach the yoke to the rope that draws the wagon and span the animals properly, first the left rear ox with the yoke strap on the outside, then the one on the right 857 527

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama



the chieftainship of the whole tribe was hereditary in this senior clan, and inherited in the male line from father to son. In the case of the //Khau /Goan (Swartbooi) tribe the names of ten clans have been preserved, in the case of the Gei //Khauan (Rooi Natie) of fifteen, and in that of the /Hobesen (Witbooi) of seven. It appears from the clan names of the Gei //Khauan that there must formerly have been several more clans in this tribe, so that on the whole the size of a clan cannot have been considerable. No actual figures are available, however.

Each clan named itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. In some cases tribal traditions have been preserved in which the various clans in the tribe are shown to have been related to one another in the past. The legend of the Swartboois, for instance, is that they separated from the Rooi Natie under the leadership of the */Gariɓ* family, and that the three brothers of this family became the ancestors of the three chief clans of the tribe—the */Gari Gaiɓ* or big */Gariɓ*, the */Gari /Naguaun* or "next" */Gariɓ*, and the */Gari /Karib* or little */Gariɓ*, these names being those of the three brothers respectively.[1] When the tribe was first formed the chieftainship was vested in the */Gari Gaiɓ* clan, but it has now passed to the second clan, the */Gari /Naguaun*, as the senior clan has become almost extinct, being represented to-day by only two or three people. Two of the other clans in this tribe are formed by people who were incorporated from the //O Gaiɓ tribe after the latter had broken up; and a similar instance where members of a different tribe were absorbed is found in the case of the /Aunin living at Walvis Bay, who completely defeated another Nama people known as the */Nanaxin* and incorporated its remnant into their own clans. It would appear, therefore, that the different clans now found in a tribe are by no means always related, and even where they do claim a common descent it is no longer possible to trace this relationship genealogically.

The various family groups which go together to form a clan are also called */hau /aoti*. These family groups to-day have Dutch, or, at any rate, European surnames. Some of the clans have only one

[1] It is the Hottentot custom for all the sons of a woman to be called by her "great name" (*gai khoi /oa*), while all the daughters are similarly called by the *gai khoi /oa* of their father. Hence all the sons of a woman named */Gariɓ* will be called */Gariɓ*, and all the daughters of a man named *//Khauab* will be called *//Khauaos*. They are distinguished from one another by the use of special adjectives, the eldest son being called the big one, *gaiɓ*, hence */Gari gaiɓ*, the second the next one, */naguaub*, hence */Gari /naguaub*, the third the dark one, *!naib*, or the light one, */kaib*, or the tall one, *gamab*, and so on, while the youngest will be called the young one, *!aoti*, or the little one, */kaxib*, hence */Gari !kaxib*. The same distinctions are made in the case of the daughters.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama



family surname. That of the */Gori /Naguron*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Naisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Bruken. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooïs as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1939
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if his explanation of the excision were correct. Most other writers, as we have already mentioned, state that the operation was performed in order to increase the swiftness of the man in running.[1]

*Names*

There is no record of any special naming ceremony among the Hottentots, apart from Grevenbroeck's statement that at the feast marking the end of the mother's seclusion her husband publicly asks her what name she has conferred upon the child. In general he agrees with her, while all the other people present, as Grevenbroeck naively puts it, praise her ingenuity, greet the child by its name, and there, after wishing both it and the parents good luck, celebrate the feast.[2] Kolb says the child's name is decided by the mother immediately after the birth, unless she is too weak to do so, when the child is named by its father. The names chosen, he adds, are those of cattle, sheep, and goats.[3]

We have already noted, however, that among the Namas, and probably this applies to all the other Hottentots as well, all sons take the name of their mother, and all daughters the name of their father, as their chief or "great" name, *gui khoi /ona*. If the father's name, e.g., is *gomaxûi*, and that of the mother *//khamikes* (*-i* and *-s* are the masculine and feminine sex-endings respectively), a son will be called *//khamikeb* and a daughter *gomaxûis*. To this name the son, when he is grown, adds another—the "great name" of his father, modified by infixing the syllable *ma* before the final gender suffix. His name now will be, in the example given, *//khamikeb-gomaxûimab*. The use of this additional name is less customary with women; but if used follows the same principle; hence *gomaxûis-//khamikemas*.

As a result of this system of naming, all own brothers will have the same name, and all own sisters will have the same name. The difficulty this involves is evaded, as we have seen, by the use of special adjectives indicating the relative order of birth. The eldest son, e.g., will be called *//khamikeb gaiti*, the second son */khamikeb /naguemab*, the youngest *//khamikeb tkarib*, and so on, and similarly in the case of the daughters. Additional distinctions are made by means of nicknames, of which there is a great variety. Some refer to physical characteristics, others reflect some historical circumstance connected

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 58; cf. Tas Rhyne, loc. cit.; Wikar, op. cit., 58–9.
[2] Op. cit., 2.
[3] Op. cit., 68–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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• 55[illegible] with the parents, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same "great name", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this "great name" derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

## Childhood and Family Life

[853] [854] A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old. When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on her back, *aibe's* it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down, but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby [842] can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the [847] mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

846 242 [845] From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allotted a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51–2; *idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 323–4; Maxwell, *Blackwood*, 14–15.

[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 76; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 97–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 222, 259.

4: Hoerulé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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614 621 [591] the //Neigomon, and the /Gurunin are said to be sibs descended from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

622 614 When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the /Gavi Gain sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the /Gavi !Nagoman. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the older branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

622 614 551 There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained information. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanaib, who is followed in order by Tsamkau, Tsaugab, Tsauxab, ≠Aubib, Huiaib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then Huiaib's son Hahib Abraham Swartbooi, then Hahib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son Hahib ≠ami, and now the latter's son Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, Hara Geib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

614 551 It is interesting to note that the /Gavi !Nagoman are beginning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves Tsauxan, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these Tsauxan the members of which call themselves /Oa Goan, which means the younger branch of the chief's (gaob) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama



not likely to do so as the custom of using Dutch surnames is increasing and the old Nama names are falling into disuse. 614 551

There is no name for the families which together go to form a sib. They are also called *!Hoe !Naiti*. These families to-day have Dutch, or at any rate European, surnames, and though they claim to be blood kinsmen and in former days would not have intermarried, it is not now possible to trace any genealogical connection between these families. All the members of the chief's sib call themselves Swartbooie, a name which seems to have been applied in the first instance to William Swartbooi whose Nama name, *Huiseb*, however, means the root of a special kind of acacia. In the */Gari ≠Kaeie* sib we get the Hendricks as the chief family; in the *!Gaewaeie* sib there are at least four families, the Swartbooie, Gertzen, Richters, Van der Byls. The *//Naigwaeo* sib has three families represented to-day, the Davids, the Swartbooie, the Linders. The *Ui Gaon* are the Petersens, whilst the *Goamun's* are represented to-day by the Orlam family, the *//Khou Tawaeo* by the Kido and the Brands families, the */Gari Goin* by only one family, the *N'aibis*, and the *!Noisi oin* by the Beukes family. [522]

The analysis of the sib structure of this tribe shows, I think, the whole mechanism by which sibs and tribes are formed among the Nama. A large and flourishing family will very often have its own favorite pasturing grounds and be so large as to exclude members of other families or sibs. In course of time they become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begins to play the part of chief. They arrange their migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and in course of time are acknowledged to be independent. Then, as the families increase, descendants of the different brothers group themselves together more closely and form sibs and sub-sibs. In this way a new tribe develops from a sib, or a part of a sib, of the parent tribe. 614 621

My information is most complete and definite in regard to the Swartbooie and the Topnaars, but, so far as it goes, the evidence from the other tribes is in complete agreement with the course of development outlined above. The Topnaar tribe is to-day divided into two sections. One of these lives far away to

843 they frequently encourage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 851 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 852 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 862 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[784] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [787] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little ones "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Homeotes FX13
Rare



by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 573 574

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Toepot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 ● [575]

5. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of horse-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [577]

6. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [578]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "herbs" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blue-black red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [94] [95]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day: nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 536 [521]

11: Maingard Q-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana



We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group S. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for "head" and "tongue" shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tamo* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for "wolf" and "tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, "milk" is the same in Korana and Cape (*hâi*) as against Nama *dop*. 197

In 1919, Rev. C. Wandres tried, in a learned study ("Alte Wortlisten der Hottentottensprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 36-42), to explain these identical words of three lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *hâpuse* "dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt"; of *qa'nie*: "*qa'* ist mir unerklärlich"; of *hompse*: "das *h* . . . am Anfang des Wortes vermisse ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wandres as a practical test to show how different Nama is in these few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart; (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hottentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

## VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

### *GENERAL*

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hottentot endings of the names: 173 551

*-â* (*-p*), for the males, and *-o* for the females.

It is to be noted that:

(i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.

(ii) the names of the children of */hatsi* and *Orose* have mostly European Christian names.

(iii) x in these lists represents a number unknown by name.

14-Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13



All the Khoikhoi tribes use the expression *Taras* for woman. We have still the name of *Tradouw*—*i.e.*, *Taras-dau*—for a mountain-pass not far from Swellendam. *Taras* is the woman, as ruler of the house, the mistress; it is exactly the Middle-High-German *vrouwe*. The root *da* or *ta* means to conquer, to rule, to master, and the suffix *ra* expresses a custom or an intrinsic peculiarity. *Taras* is also a woman of rank, *a lady*. In every Khoikhoi's house the woman, or *taras*, is the *supreme ruler*; the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man ever should try to do it, his nearest female relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which is to be added to the stock of the wife. In the house the wife always occupies the right side of the husband and the right side of the house. 196 542

If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the gau-tis (constructed from *gautaras*), the ruling woman—*i.e.*, the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not of age. Thus, the name of an old queen, Xamǂhâs, who ruled the Cauquas (ǂKhauas) at the time of Simon van der Stell, in the present Worcester district, in the valleys of the Breede river, has been handed down to us, and her descendants now live on the outskirts of the Kalihari, where they still rule the tribe, who left the Colony seventy years ago. I mean the Xamǂhâ, or so-called Amraal-family, ruling the Gei-ǂKhauas of Gobabis. Here I must mention a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. 'All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is Xamǂhâ-b and the mother is ǂ*Ariseb*, the sons are— 422 765 551

1. ǂAriseb geib—*i.e.*, ǂArise the big one, or the eldest ǂAriseb.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13



● 59 2. ǂAriseb ǂkhami, ǂArise the younger one.

If there are three sons, then the following appellative or cognominal distinctions are made:

1. ǂAriseb gûib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-mûb—*i.e.*, ǂArise the-lower-standing, *i.e.*, the second.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami. ǂAriseb the younger one *or* the youngest.

If there are four sons, the denomination runs thus:

1. ǂAriseb gûib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-mûb.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami.

4. ǂAriseb ǀnagû-mû-ǂkhami.

If there are five sons, the denomination is like the preceding, when there are four; the fifth one is called ǂgaob, and if it is a daughter ǂgâon, which means the "cut off." And if there are more than five sons, mere cognomina such as ǂnûb, the dark one, ǂhaib, the fawn-coloured one, ǀnwah, the *red* one, ǀnubub, the short one, gǂxub, the tall one, &c., are used.

In exactly the same way the daughters are called after the father; for instance, Xam-ǂhab being the father, the suffix *s* of the feminine gender is simply put in place of the masculine *b* and we thus receive:—1. Xam-ǂhâs gûis. 2. Xam ǂhas ǀnaga-mûs. 3. Xam ǂhas ǂkhams, &c. This custom will guide us, when in the sequel we have to explain the relationship of mythological persons. There is, for instance, ǀUrisib, the son of Heitsi-eibib. Our old storyteller did not give us the name of the wife of ǀUrisib. But from knowing her son's name to be ǀUrisib, we quite correctly infer that her name certainly was ǀUrisi-s.

591 234 562 The eldest daughter was highly respected; to her was entirely left the milking of the cows. This was in accordance with the respect shown to the female sex in general. There is a nice charming little song illustrating this.

14:Stabu L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1981 FX13 Hereroot FX13



The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buxu, and those sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsûîgoab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (‖hamab, trade, ‖hamaxa, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buxu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (ǂNu-‖khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǀAmaxa tribe), and of the ǀKhomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ǂNu-‖hoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǀ*Khâsati* (ǀKhunusati) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ǂgoreya the Zebras, *a* Orionis χαμί, the Lion, *a* Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterizes their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *tarob*, from *tara*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (ǂgari-b, ǂgob, ǂi-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ǂgaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-ǂgamteb, Lion-killer, ǂOtaǂtamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu‖ǂb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places